1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

796 saint's image and burn a candle before setting out on a journey.

The new *carguero* takes charge of the image the day before Corpus. He goes to the house of the old *carguero*, secures the image, and takes it to church. There it remains in a "box" during the week-long festivities of Corpus. On Monday afternoon of Corpus the musicians of the merchants come to the house of the *carguero* and make it their headquarters during the fiesta until Saturday noon. The musicians, the commissioners, and whatever people attach themselves to the group, breakfast and dine at the house of the *carguero* during the fiesta. If he cannot afford this, the commissioners provide the meals, three or four cooperating in providing each meal. The musicians of this group also greet the honey gatherers when they return from their stay in the woods collecting honeycombs for the fiesta (on Friday, according to the *carguero;* Tuesday, according to all others).

The day of the saint is October 24. The *carguero* pays for a Mass (and presumably candles). In 1940 the Mass was delayed because the priest was too busy and was out of town frequently.

The *carguero* ordinarily is a merchant, but in 1940 he was a fireworks maker. Because he traveled from town to town, the principals had decided he could qualify as *carguero* when he asked for the *mayordomía*. The *carguero* sought the responsibility "for pleasure" and not because of any vow. Incidentally, he is a native of Pichataro and speaks very little Spanish. His wife speaks even less. Perhaps because of this origin they were much the most open and cordial of the *cargueros*.[37]

● [191]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN ANTONIO

[776] San Antonio is patron of the muleteers, the *arrieros*. The new *carguero* receives the image on June 13, the day of the saint, and takes it to

[37] Those desiring the *mayordomía* of San Rafael apply to the principal. The holder of this office in 1940 had occupied it for 15 years, although he had several times tried to resign. Occasionally he calls meetings of the merchants to discuss some expense relative to the saint, such as new garments or altar table. Sometimes money is collected in the meeting in advance for such expenditures. On other occasions the principal spends money out of his pocket and takes up a collection at the meeting to reimburse himself. According to this principal, the new *carguero* goes to the priest during Corpus for benediction. Probably this is true of the other *mayordomías* but the point was not investigated.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 1-B]

191 The present territory of Tarascan speech consists of a relatively small area (about 3,500 sq.
131 *km.) in northwestern Michoacán.* Approximately, the modern area extends eastward from the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad to the east shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and southward from the México-Guadalajara highway to a line drawn between Pátzcuaro and the peak of Tancítaro (map 1).[1] A few small islands of Tarascan-speaking folk exist south of the main area. Within the present
[161] area nearly 55,000 individuals of indigenous speech live in 66 Tarascan-pueblos and 50 ranchos.

131 Four geographical regions comprise the modern
101 Tarascan area. (1) The Sierra (called by the Tarascans Sierra or Siériŝ) is the largest of the regions, the main portion of which extends westward from Lake Pátzcuaro to slightly east of the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad.[1a] The northern

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102 [1] Map 1 is based on an enlarged portion of sheet 6GA (Uruapan) of the
131 AAF Preliminary Base, 1:500,000. This sheet was compiled by the U. S.
133 Aeronautical Chart Service in January 1945 from AAF trimetrogon photography taken in December 1942. Positions and names of topographic features which appear on the accompanying map were checked on the ground during the spring of 1946. Some errors were encountered on the original map: misnamed localities (e. g. Ajuno), small errors in routes of highways and railroads, mistakes in elevations. Drainage was found to be fairly correct. On map 1 only the more important trails are indicated. Numbered localities refer to the following ranchos:

1. Guarachonillo.	14. San Marcos Arachúcuta.	27. Patambícho.
2. Aranza.	15. Huancho.	28. Ojo de Agua.
3. Las Trojes.	16. Las Cocinas.	29. Ichupío.
4. Las Cañas.	17. San Nicolás.	30. Taruício.
5. El Venado.	18. La Alberca.	31. Uoxanástacua.
6. Tapia.	19. La Atzcuada.	32. La Vinata.
7. Tierras Blancas.	20. El Rosario.	33. Las Granadas.
8. La Mesa.	21. El Tepemal.	34. Yunúpio.
9. La Tinaja.	22. Tapetaio.	35. Taracua.
10. Querándaro.	23. Tajamanil.	36. Urandén Morales.
11. Zaramaro.	24. Pacápetiro.	37. Urandén Morales.
12. San Luis Sorosa.	25. Chupícuaro.	38. Urandén Carian.
13. La Jolla.	26. Opeoguio.	39. El Padre.

The following Tarascan ranchos (listed in the official 1940 census) are not located: Trintaisba (municipio of Chilchota); Agua Escondida (municipio of Tangancícuaro); Las Enzinillas and Las Lauroias (municipio of Tangamandapio); La Providencia and El Tropezón (municipio of Los Reyes); El Tejocote (municipio of Paracho); Revolución (municipio of Erongarícuaro); and Itzipartzuacua (municipio of Tzintzuntzan).

[1a] On modern maps the high area west of Lake Pátzcuaro is termed "Sierra de los Tarascos." In colonial documents the area was usually called "Sierra de Michoacán."

131 boundary approximates the México-Guadalajara
101 highway, while the steep escarpment that plunges into the Balsas-Tepalcatepec Basin marks its southern limit. An eastward extension lies south and southeast of the lake and joins with the Sierra de Ozumatlán in eastern Michoacán. Containing
[162] 60 percent of the present indigenous group, the Sierra west of the lake is the modern center of the Tarascans. (2) The Lake Pátzcuaro (Japúndaru, Inčámecuaru) area contains 19 percent of the
[162] Tarascan population distributed in 13 pueblos and 13 ranchos along the lake shore and on the islands. Formerly one of the political centers of the Tarascan Empire, the lake region, in terms of indigenous speech, has declined rapidly since late colonial times. The speech of the entire south
[191] shore and the towns of Quiroga, Tzintzuntzan, and Erongarícuaro is predominantly Spanish. North and northeast of the Sierra lie two small areas of indigenous speech, which appear to be remnants of the once large northern Tarascan zone. One of these is (3) La Cañada (Eráŝeman), a small narrow valley located at the northern edge of the Sierra. This valley was the region of the "onze pueblos" of
[162] colonial days. Today nine towns with 9 percent of the total Tarascan population are clustered along a strip of alluvium within the valley. (4) The other remnant of the northern zone lies north and northwest of Lake Pátzcuaro and contains
[162] seven pueblos and 9.5 percent of the total number of Tarascan-speaking folk.[3] Other regions of Tarascan speech consist of "islands" south of the main area. Cuanajo, located southwest of Morelia in the western[1] extension of the Sierra, is the last fragment of the former indigenous area southeast of Lake Pátzcuaro. San Angel Zurumucapio and the newly formed towns (Caltzontzin and Villa Silva) harboring refugees from the stricken

[3] These pueblos include Tiríndaro, Tarajero, and Naranja on the shore of former Zacapu marsh; Azajo and Comanja on the northeastern edge of the Sierra; Taremendo and Zipiajo at the northern foot of Cerro el Zirate.

1 [Probably should read "eastern", & referring to Tarascan Sierra.—Analyst.]

131 zone around Parícutin Volcano, are the remaining
101 predominantly Tarascan settlements in the *tierra templada*, the upper part of the plateau escarp-
[162] ment (2 percent of Tarascan population in 1940).
[191] Formerly an important part of the Tarascan Empire, the hot lands of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins (*tierra caliente*, Juío) have lost completely the last vestige of spoken Tarascan.

A small number of Tarascan-speaking folk live in some of the larger mestizo towns adjacent to the main Tarascan area: Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, Coeneo, Zacapu, Zamora. With the possible exception of a few old households in Uruapan, the presence of aboriginal speech in the large mestizo
[166] settlements probably represents a recent influx from rural areas (a desire for urban life, migration from the volcano-devastated areas) rather than linguistic remnants.

THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC AREAS

133 **The Sierra.**—The Tarascan "Sierra" is not a mountain chain; it is rather a volcanic plateau, whose average elevation is some 1,500 feet higher than that of the surrounding areas and whose surface has been roughened by large composite volcanoes, scores of small cinder cones, and extensive lava flows (*malpaís*). Lying within Mexico's transcontinental volcanic axis, the Sierra is the locale of the country's newest active volcano, Parícutin.[3] Within the central part of the area elevations range from 6,900 feet to over 12,660 feet (Cerro de Tancítaro). The altitude of the plateau increases from west to east. Elevations of towns in the western half of the Sierra range from 5,180 feet (Atapan) to 7,800 feet (Pamatácuaro); in the eastern half, from 8,040 feet (Sevina) to 8,460 feet (Cumachuén), the highest pueblo in the Sierra west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Even higher settlements (e. g. the rancho of Cruz Gorda, 8,987 feet) exist southeast of the lake, and the highest point in Michoacán, the Cerro de San Andrés (12,840 feet), lies in the Sierra de Ozumatlán, 62 km. east of Morelia.

Tertiary and Quaternary vulcanism has produced the major land forms in the Sierra (map 2). In age the volcanic forms range from probably Eocene to the present time. The oldest are massive composite volcanoes, the highest and most

[3] The chief scientific references on the Parícutin Volcano include Ordóñez (1945), Robles Ramos (1943), Pérez Peña (1945), Mexico City Universidad Nacional Instituto de Geología (1945).

134 Large cracks occur in the soil surface during the months of March and April, and moisture is evaporated from a depth of many inches. Consequently čaránda is a "temporal" soil, i. e., it can be planted only after the rains begin. Because of its clayey texture, it erodes easily once the plant cover is stripped and the soil structure is destroyed. The cultivated slopes around Lake Pátzcuaro, for example, are one of the worst-eroded agricultural areas of Mexico. Wherever čaránda soils occur, the surface is scarred by gullies, which are becoming a characteristic landscape feature in the low areas surrounding the Sierra.

134 241 **Minor soil types.**—Among the most fertile in the Tarascan area are a few minor soil types. These include the alluvium in La Cañada and the lacustrine deposits around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro and within the recently desiccated Zacapu Basin. Containing abundant organic
[Text Continues TOP of P. 11b—Analyst]

TARASCAN
POPULATION

THE RECESSION OF NATIVE SPEECH

191 178 171 One of the outstanding developments in Tarascan history has been the drastic areal recession of indigenous speech. Today the territory in which Tarascan (P'orépeča) is spoken represents only one-fifteenth of its pre-Conquest extent. The pre-Spanish linguistic area (discussed by Brand, 1944) included most of the present State of Michoacán, except the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre del Sur between Colima and the lower Balsas (map 7). The political limits of the Tarascan state, however, extended beyond the language boundary: in the west into Jalisco, in the south to the Pacific, and in the north to the Bajío of Guanajuato (Brand, 1944; cf. Stanislawski, 1947 a). The Tarascan cultural core centered in the north-central part of the Empire, comprising the Lake Pátzcuaro-Cuitzeo area and the pine forests of the Sierra and the upper escarpment zone (Stanislawski, 1947 a). Tarascans extended their speech southward into the *tierra caliente* (basins of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas) by colonization from the highlands during the 14th and early 15th centuries. Likewise, the P'orépeča settlements around the eastern end of Lake Chapala and south thereof (Mazamitla) appear to have been 15th-century colonies. Within the
191 pre-Conquest area various islands of foreign
563 tongues existed; these represented colonies settled with permission of Tarascan chiefs. There were
[Text Continues bottom of P. 11b—Analyst]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 11-b]

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirás*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirás* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirás* is not clear.

TARASCAN
POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomí
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[167] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[191] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

177 The most serious shock which the indigenous
164 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the
161 frightful toll taken by the contagious European diseases that became epidemic throughout central

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 12-b — ANALYST]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mss. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Necotlán and Rel. de Cusse; Mss. Nac., leg. 99, Rel. de Charo Matlaltzinca.

[18] Mss. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. I, p. 131; Mss. Nac., Col. de Gómez Orozco, vol. I, Rel. de Tancítaro.

[P. 12 a]

A1
131
563
177

MAP 7.—Pre-Conquest and modern boundaries of Tarascan speech.

161
177 tants having been wiped out entirely, or the few
[164] survivors having migrated later to larger towns.

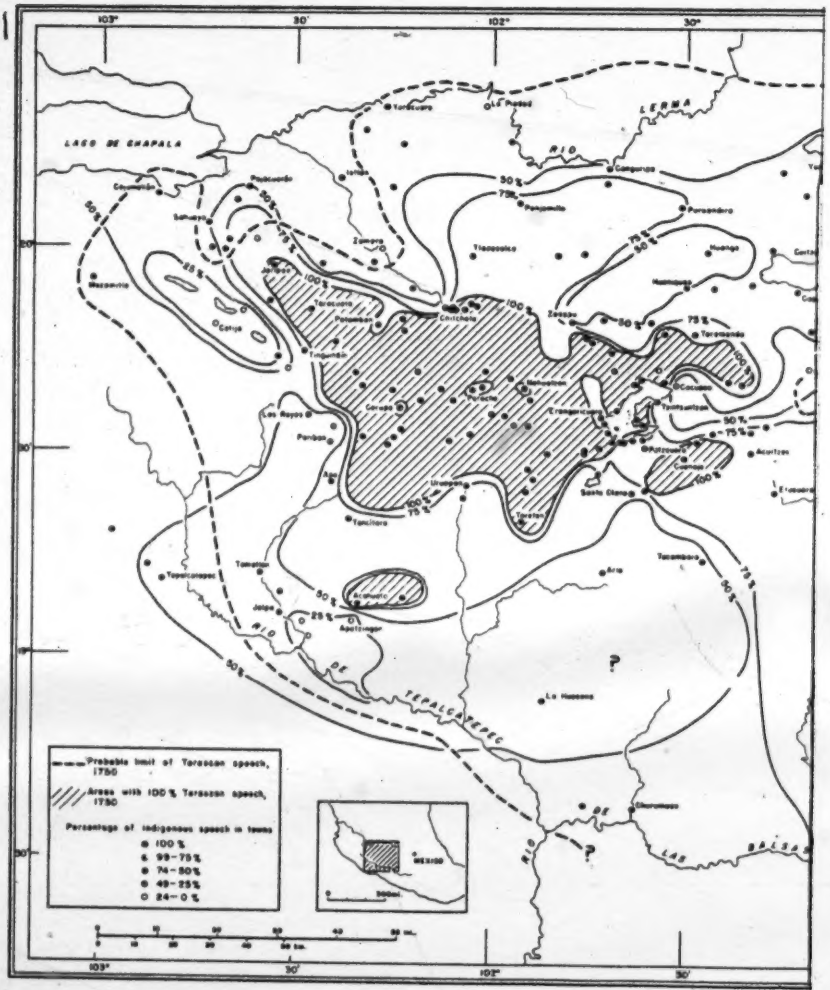
Spanish exploitation and settlement in Michoacán slowly effected the reduction of Tarascan speech. Guzman's *entrada* (1530) left a trail of destruction and displacement of population throughout northern Michoacán. Moreover, during
[648] the exploitation of placer gold along the tributaries of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec (1524–35) Spanish miners destroyed and dislocated many Tarascans through enslavement and overwork.[39]

797 On the other hand, Franciscan and Augustinian
177 missionaries, who by the end of the 16th century
191 had established themselves in most of the large Tarascan pueblos, were strong agents of acculturation, replacing many indigenous material and

[39] The Indice de Protocolos, vol. 1 (ed. Millares Carlo and Mantecón), gives abundant evidence of the feverish gold panning operations in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec drainage from 1534 to 1538 and cites the wholesale use of Indian slave labor. Such activity probably continued until the enforcement (in the 1540's) of the New Laws, which forbade slave labor and consequently decreased the profitableness of gold washing. Furthermore, many Spanish adventurers turned from gold panning to silver mining after the discoveries in the Taxco district during the 1530's.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 13-C]

191



MAP 8.—Area of Tarascan speech, ca. 1750. Isopiaths indicate percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to to

[Facing p. 12; section A]

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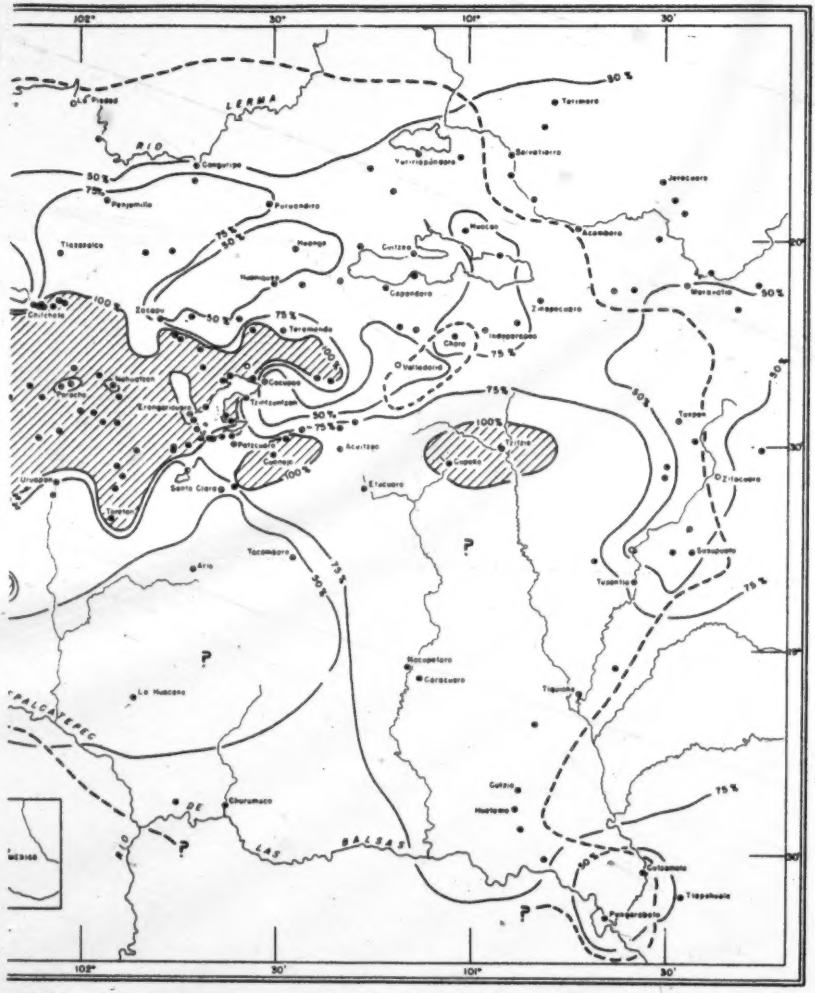

opleths indicate percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to total number of inhabitants at any given locality.

Tarascan D - 48 (Face p. 13)

[Facing page 12; section B]

177 nonmaterial elements with European; but by per-
797 forming religious functions in Tarascan, they
191 helped to preserve, rather than destroy, the native tongue. Nor did the absentee *encomen-*
[651] *dero*, who held villages in fee in order to collect monthly or yearly tribute, disturb the native speech.

177 The permanent European settlements (mines,
191 farming, and livestock enterprises) which demanded indigenous labor were the more important
464 agents in substituting Spanish for the native
167 language. *Repartimiento* labor from northern
566 Tarasca was sent to the large silver mines in the east (Tlalpujahua, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, Taxco) and in the north (Guanajuato); few pueblos in the Sierra furnished workers for these mines.[21] Such labor worked in the mines only for 1- or 2-week periods, and although the workers probably picked up some Spanish in contact with mulattoes and mestizos, they continued to use their native tongue. Free Tarascan laborers, however, migrated from their villages to distant northern mines (Zacatecas, Parral, San Luis Potosí) where they permanenty settled in native quarters and eventually lost the use of their aboriginal language.

191 Spanish settlements within the Tarascan area
177 contributed more than any other factor to the loss of the native tongue. Such settlement occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries in those lands peripheral to the Sierra, i. e., in the grassy plains and hill country to the north and east and in the *tierras templada* and *caliente* to the south. In both areas the basis of permanent Spanish settlement was stock raising. The northern section from the Otomí country near the Sierra de Ozumatlán to Mazamitla, south of Lake Chapala, was especially favorable for cattle and sheep. Large expanses of grass and scrub existed between widely scattered native villages; numerous springs and streams afforded sufficient water; while salt licks were common near mineral springs and in small *playas*. Moreover, year-round pasture occurred along the margins of lakes and marshes throughout the northern region. During the colonial period thousands of sheep and cattle were pastured in the dry season around Lake Cuitzeo, around the margins of the *ciénaga* of Zacapu, and in the

[21] Aranza, Sevina, and Tzintzuntzan were the Sierra and Lake pueblos that supplied most of the *repartimiento* mine labor from the central part of the Tarascan area during the 16th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries most of the men of Zacán worked voluntarily in the Guanajuato mines. (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 4, pp. 426–427; vol. 6, p. 468; AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 356).

177 Lerma delta plain at the eastern end of Lake
191 Chapala.[22]

In the north, land was granted and cattle *estancias* were established soon after the voluntary submission of the Tarascan chiefs in 1522. By 1540 most of the best pastures between Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Chapala were in the hands of Spanish ranchers (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77, 117, etc.), and by 1600 most of northern Tarasca was taken up by cattle and sheep ranches, forming the southern part of the great colonial ranching area of north-central Mexico. In well-watered spots Spaniards also established
[464] irrigated wheat farms, worked by *repartimiento* labor from Tarascan villages nearby, e. g. around Chilchota and Indaparapeo (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1581; Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 78, 133).

These Spanish settlements, located between
[166] Indian pueblos, were centers of acculturation for natives who came to work permanently as herdsmen or farmers. Associating with mulatto and Negro cattle hands (who became numerous in Michoacán during the 17th and 18th centuries), Indians gradually lost their Tarascan speech and intermarried with the invading element, begetting mixed offspring. Spanish and mulatto families also established households in many reorganized Indian pueblos (e. g. Cuitzeo, Indaparapeo, Chilchota, etc.), the Indian population being relegated to *barrios*, or native quarters in the town. There, too, acculturation took place. Furthermore, at least two Spanish towns were founded in the northern area—Valladolid (Morelia) and Zamora—in both of which were
[166] established *barrios* for Indians who came to live as laborers and traders.

In spite of active Spanish and mulatto settlement in the North, the loss of native speech was slow. By the mid-18th century Tarascan-speaking folk comprised between 50 and 75 percent of the total population in the northern plateau of Michoacán, and many pueblos were still entirely native in speech [23] (map 8). These percentages

[22] The pastures of the lower Lerma were famed throughout New Spain for their abundant winter forage. During the 16th and 17th centuries thousands of sheep were annually driven there from Querétaro, Toluca, the Valley of Mexico, and other distant places. (Mus. Nac. (Col. Gómez Orozco), Rel. de Querétaro; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 2, p. 14; Arregui, 1946, p. 60.)

[23] The language maps (8 and 9) were compiled chiefly from church *padrones*,
[127] or lists of confessors of each inhabited place in the diocese of Michoacán. Such lists are extant in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán (AAM), Morelia. *Padrones* for 1742, 1746, and 1759, plus population and linguistic information from Villaseñor y Sánchez: Theatro Americano, 1746-48, were employed to construct the map for 1750. For that of 1800 the writer used *padrones* for 1798, 1800, 1801, 1805, 1808, and 1810. Information for the latter map was much less complete than for the former.

191 were probably even larger prior to 1737, the year
177 of a disastrous smallpox epidemic. Certain areas, however, particularly the pastures of the evergreen marshes (the lower Lerma, the Zacapu district, the Zamora Valley), were mainly Spanish in speech. By 1600 the northern boundary of Tarascan had moved north into the Bajío of Guanajuato, where Spanish wheat farms and
[166] stock ranches had attracted large numbers of native workers from the southern pueblos (Zavala and Castello, 1939-46, vol. 5, p. 30). In the north-
[563] western sector a reemergent Mexican (Teco) speech had replaced Tarascan (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 192–210; 212–226), while in the northeast and east Mazahua and Matlaltzinca were encroaching farther into Tarascan territory. The islands of Matlaltzinca east and southwest of Valladolid still held, but that of Huetamo had probably disappeared (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 139).

By 1800 (map 9) the percentage of Tarascan-
191 speaking folk in the northern area had decreased
177 notably, especially along the frontiers. The Matlaltzinca-Tarascan area of Charo-Zinapécuaro
563 was still largely indigenous, and a zone from Cerro el Zirate northward to Lake Cuitzeo contained a large proportion of native speech. Fifty years later (map 10)[24] the Tarascan-speaking people had been reduced to small isolated islands, partly a result of frequent military and political upheavals following the struggle for independence. In 1940 (map 11), after nearly 100 years of intermittent political turmoil, Tarascan speech had disappeared from the northern grasslands, except for a few resistant pueblos on the northern edge of the Sierra. After a slow weakening in the colonial period, the native language in the North gradually collapsed during the last 150 years.

The western area.—Immediately west of the
563 Sierra lies a southward prong of the northern
191 plateau landscape, which, like the North, was
177 early settled by whites and mulattoes. At the beginning of the 17th century the large graben valley of Cotija was occupied by cattle estancias, and the settlement of Cotija was composed entirely of Spanish blood. As late as 1800 this valley, except its eastern end, was an island of Spaniards and some mulattoes and mestizos sur-

[127] [24] Population statistics were not available to construct an isopleth map for 1850. Approximate boundaries of Tarascan speech were compiled from various mid-19th century reports: "Noticia general de los terrenos de comunidad de indígenas del Estado", in Memoria de la Legislatura de Michoacán (1869); AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memorias estadísticas . . . 1841, Listas de los cabeceras de curato . . . 1846; Orozco y Berra, 1864, pp. 271–273; Romero, 1862.

563 177 191 rounded by Tarascans. A few Spanish ranchers and traders settled also in Tingüindín, a large Indian village at the western edge of the Sierra; but the extreme western Tarascan zone from Mazamitla to Los Reyes did not completely lose its native speech until the beginning of the present century.

The tierra caliente and tierra templada.—The story of the recession of Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* roughly parallels that in the northern plateau. In the former area disease probably [164] decimated the native population more completely than in the north, and its Europeanization was consequently more rapid. After the period of gold panning in the southern tributaries of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Rivers, the Spaniards turned to cattle ranching in the tropical bush around Cutzamala, Pungarabato, and Huetamo in the Balsas Basin and near Apatzingán and Tomatlán in the Tepalcatepec lowland. Although the tropical grasses and shrubs were less nourishing than those in the northern plateau, the *tierra caliente* was favored by abundant springs and streams. As in the north, the natives rapidly became *vaqueros* and mixed with the mulattoes and Negroes on the ranches. Moreover, during the last decades of the 16th century Spaniards began to establish sugar plantations and mills in the upper limits of the *tierra caliente*.[35] The mill settlements (*trapiches*, *ingenios*), like the cattle ranches, were centers of acculturation and miscegenation. Large groups of Negro and mulatto slaves, male and female, were imported to operate the *trapiches* (according to colonial law, Indians were exempt from mill labor), while Tarascan [464] forced and free workers planted and harvested cane in fields nearby. Race mixing and gradual loss of native speech was inevitable. Again, exploitation of the copper mines of the *tierra caliente* 191 and the establishment of smelting centers in [177] Tzatzio and Santa Clara was another activity which helped acculturation and hastened the loss of the aboriginal language. In 1750 the limits of Tarascan speech still coincided with the 16th century pre-Spanish boundaries, but in some areas, such as the Tepalcatepec Basin, the percentage of inhabitants speaking Tarascan was only 25 percent of the total. In the *tierra templada* sugar-growing districts south of Zitácuaro, in the Peribán Valley, and the upper escarpment zone around Ario and Tacámbaro, the ratio of

[35] In 1540 a sugar mill had been established in Taximaroa, on the plateau above Turpan (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. I, p. 253).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 172---ANALYST]

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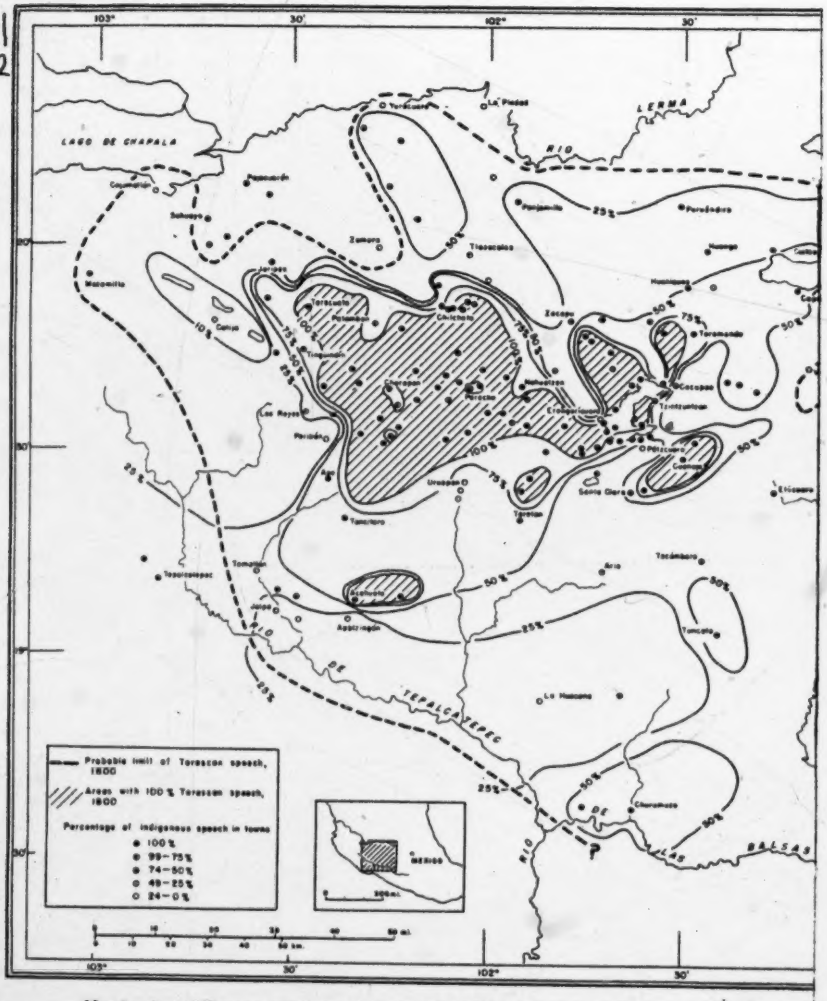

MAP 9.—Area of Tarascan speech, ca. 1800. Isopleths indicate percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to tot

[Facing page 14; section A]

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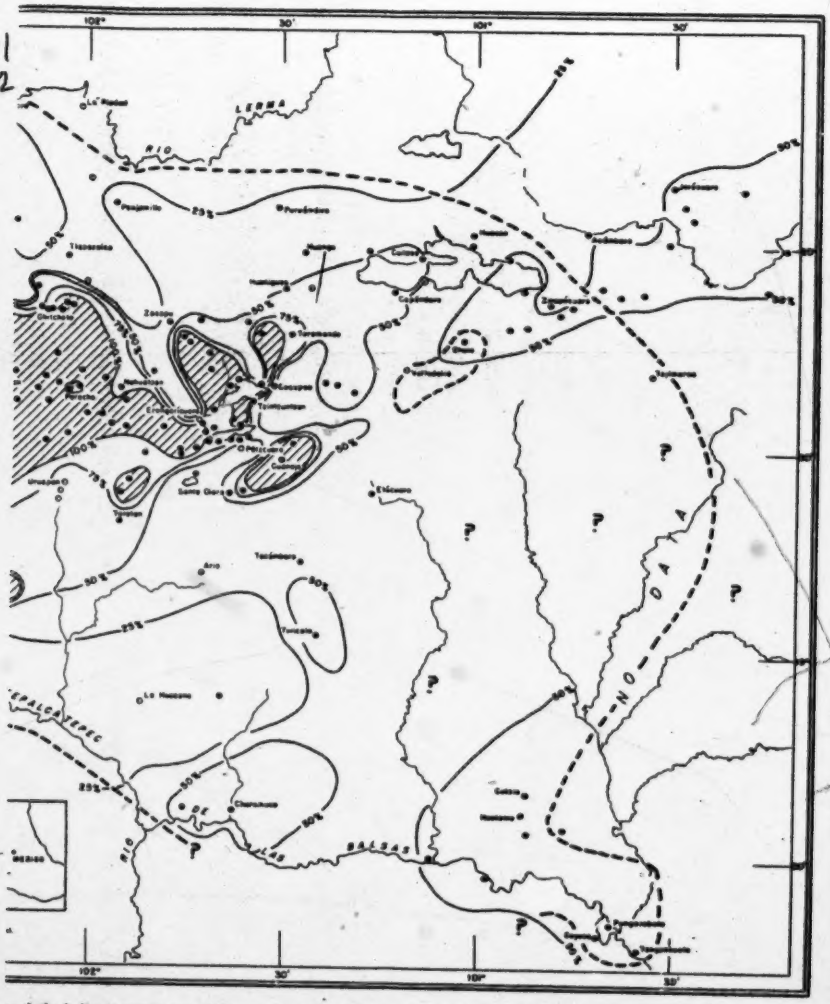

sopieths indicate percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to total number of inhabitants at any given locality

[Facing page 14; section B]

[P. 15]

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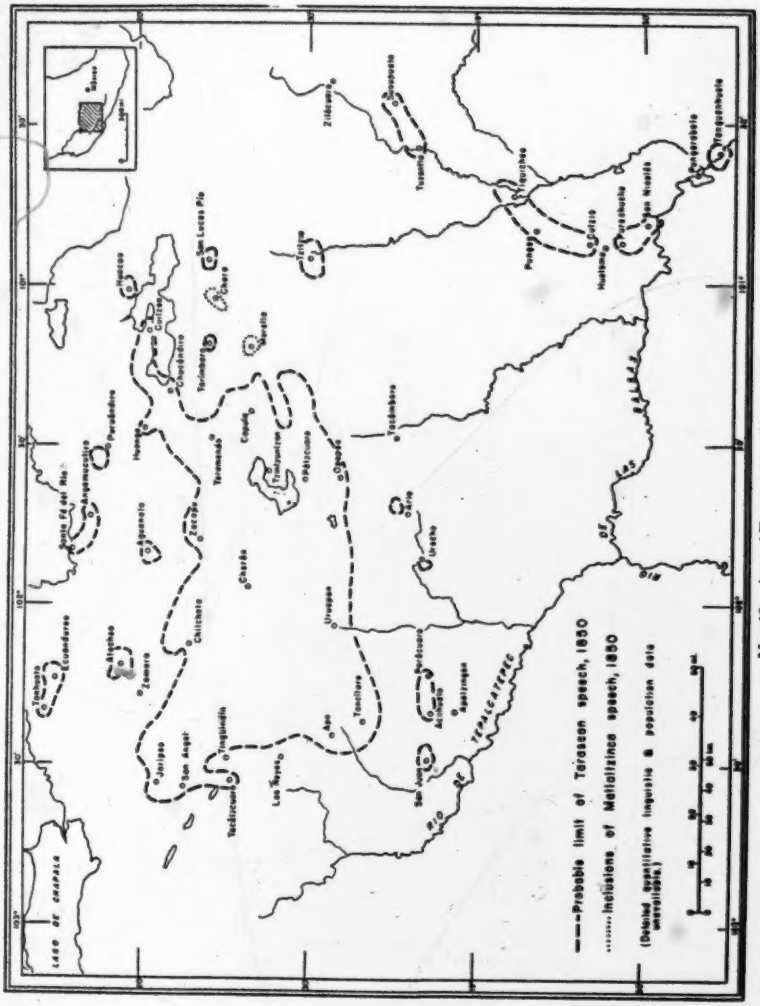
Probable limit of Tarascan speech, 1850
Inclusions of Mexicanized speech, 1850
(Dotted typefigure linguistic & population data unavailable.)
TEPALCATEPEC
LAGO DE CHAPALA

MAP 10.—Area of Tarascan speech, ca. 1850.

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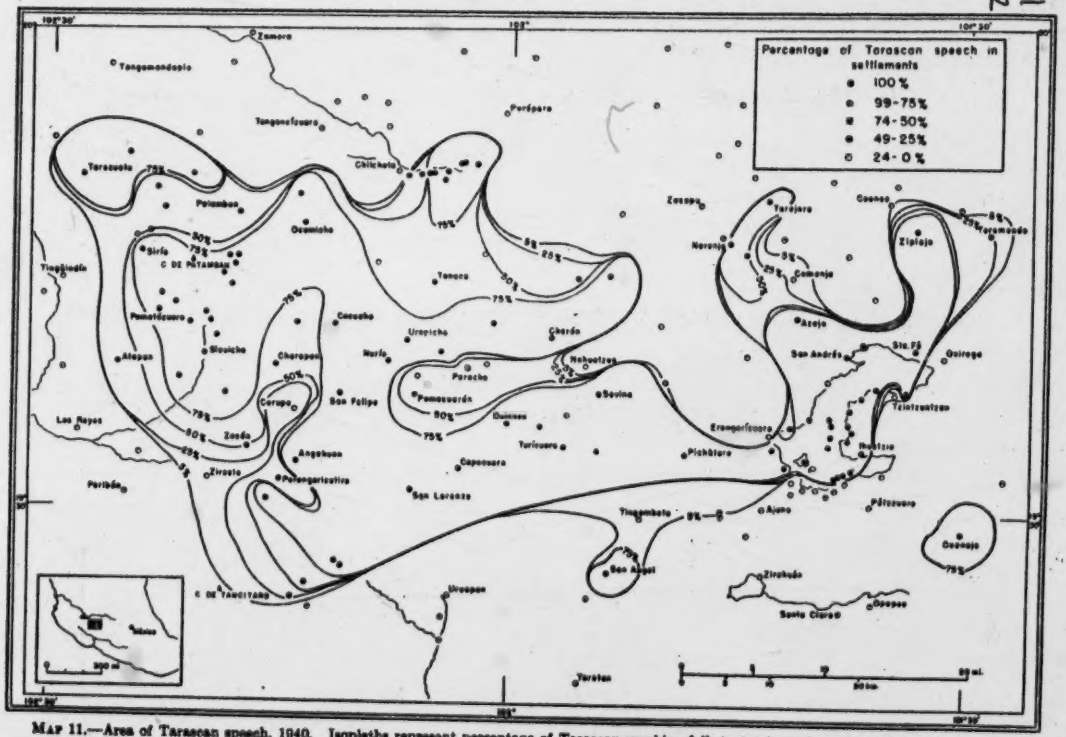
EP 16



MAP 11.—Area of Tarascan speech, 1940. Isopleths represent percentage of Tarascan-speaking folk to total number of inhabitants in the area.

191 Tarascan to Spanish was also low. Only one isolated area of solid native speech existed northeast of Apatzingán (the fruit-growing villages of Acahuato and Parácuaro). The 18th-century population figures for the sparsely inhabited, highly dissected hot country south of Morelia are not extant, but it was probably entirely Tarascan in language. In 50 years percentages of native speech had decreased, but the outer limits of the language remained practically unchanged. In 1850, however, only scattered islands of indigenous speech remained: along the Balsas at the southeastern extremity of the old Tarascan area (Tanganhuato, Pungarabato); a disjunct arc extending from the Balsas northeast to near Zitácuaro (San Nicolás, Purechucho, Cutzeo, Pungeo, Tiquicheo, Tuzantla, and Susupuato); the Acahuato-Parácuaro district; and the pueblo of San Juan de los Plátanos, west of Apatzingán (map 10). By 1940 Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* had entirely disappeared; only the small fruit town, San Angel Zurumucapio, represented the last remnant of Tarascan speech in the *tierra templada*. Again, as in the northern plateau, the sudden collapse of native speech in the south came in the first half of the 19th century. There, the Tarascans have lost most heavily territorially, for the hot country, although a colonial area and probably lightly held in terms of population, comprised more than half of the old empire.

The present distribution of Tarascan speech is confined mainly to the *tierra fría*—Lake Pátzcuaro and the Sierra. These regions, together with La Cañada, appear to be a resistant core in which the Tarascans are making a last stand against complete loss of their native tongue. In the maps of 1750, 1800, and 1850 these regions stand out as the only large purely indigenous part of Tarasca.
191 The failure of Spaniards and their mulatto
177 laborers to settle in the Sierra and in some sections of the Lake district cannot be attributed to inaccessibility, for those areas are open country with few impediments to horse travel.[28] The Sierra was simply unattractive to Spanish exploitation. Neither it nor the Lake area contained mineral wealth. The pine-oak forests, with little palatable grass and numerous predatory animals, offered few attractions for the stockman.

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[28] The *camino real* from México to Nueva Galicia, via Pátzcuaro, traversed the center of the Sierra, passing through Pichátaro, Sevina, Nahuátzen, Cherán, and Chilchota.

191 Nor was the region's winter climate an induce-
177 ment.[27] The religious had penetrated all Indian settlements in the Sierra and Lake areas; every pueblo was under an absentee *encomendero* to whom tributes in money, grain, or handicrafts were paid periodically. But the Indians had little contact with the Spanish tongue. By 1750, however, some Spanish families, probably traders, had settled in a few Sierra market towns (Patamban, Paracho, Nahuatzen, Corupo), and in 1800 the towns of Charapan and Parangaricutiro also contained one or two Spanish families.[28] A large part of the inhabitants of those pueblos today speak only Castilian (map 12). After independence in 1822, a few Spaniards or mestizos established agricultural settlements on the Sierra, e. g. the *rancho* of Arato, now a pueblo 10 km. west of Paracho.

361 Although the Tarascan area first to harbor
191 Spaniards was the Lake region (Pátzcuaro, Tzint-
177 zuntzan), some of its pueblos have succeeded in preserving the native tongue. Such towns are located on the islands and in isolated positions on the shore (northwestern edge of the lake, and the Tarfu-k'éri Peninsula). By 1750 numerous Spanish haciendas and mestizo *ranchos* existed along the southern, southwestern, and northeastern borders of the lake. Cocupao (modern Quiroga), Tzintzuntzan, and Erongarícuaro at that time were approximately 50 percent Spanish-speaking, and the city of Pátzcuaro, the colonial administrative and economic center of the Lake area, was less than 25 percent Tarascan in speech. Today the language of the former colonial hacienda districts around the lake is completely nonindigenous. These include the entire southern shore, the northeastern section, and many points along the western border.

191 The history of the southern shore represents a
177 typical example of the influence of haciendas on the hispanicization of native populations. By the mid-18th century large Spanish holdings had enveloped most of the native pueblos, contrary to laws which insured Indians a block of land (for

[27] The Sierra's unattractiveness to Spanish settlement is aptly described by the Franciscan friar, Diego Muñón, writing in 1608 on the cultivated land near Capacuaro: ". . . y no son tierras para mas que yndios criados allí que las tienen curados y experimentados; que espadoles las apalcen poco por ser tenpla rriguroso el mas frio de muchocon acrecentandolo el ayre cuyo ordinario deantrido rrocio y delgado y la yerua es aspera, yautil para ganado." (AGN Congregaciones, t. 14).

[28] AAM, siglo XVIII, leg. 233 (1746); leg. 277 (1756). In 1798, 19 *gente de razón* lived in Charapan, 6 in Parangaricutiro, 40 in Corupo (AAM siglo XIX, leg. 175).

buildings) measuring 600 yards (*varas*) in each cardinal direction from the village church. Deprived of land, most of the men of the pueblos sought work in the sugar plantations in the *tierra templada* around Ario and Tacámbaro, returning only occasionally to their homes. Others became peons in the adjacent haciendas, working with mulatto and mestizo labor (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 292–306). Consequently, the decreased use and subsequent loss of the native language was inevitable. Only the fishers inhabiting the small Urandén Islands immediately offshore, who were unaffected by the haciendas, were able to preserve their native tongue.

MODERN LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTIONS

The modern Tarascan area is in no sense a solid block of indigenous speech (table 1). The inhabitants of only 32 of the 66 Tarascan towns and 31 of the 50 indigenous *ranchos* all speak the native tongue (map 12). Nearly 25 percent of the population within the present area is composed of mestizos who know only Spanish. Such people are mainly merchants and *arrieros* living in most of the Indian pueblos and farmers inhabiting nonindigenous *ranchos* scattered throughout the Sierra and the Lake district. Fifty years ago native market centers, the towns of Nahuatzen and Tingambato now contain but a handful of people who have retained the indigenous language. According to 1940 census figures, only 35 percent of the inhabitants of Patamban are Tarascan in speech, 38 percent of those of Parangaricutiro, 30 percent of those of Paracho, 20 percent of those of Sirosto, and 10 percent of those of Corupo.* Moreover, in 1940, 18 mestizo *ranchos* were scattered between Tarascan pueblos in the Sierra. In addition to mestizo merchants and farmers, many Spanish-speaking lumbermen inhabit the ephemeral sawmills prevalent in the Sierra forests. Hence, infiltrating mestizo settlement has shattered the once-continuous indigenous area in the Sierra and Lake district into small islets of purely Tarascan speech. The more notable of these islets are: (1) seven towns in La Cañada, (2) the pueblos and *ranchos* grouped around the flanks of Cerro de Patamban, (3) the Tarecuato district, (4) a string of villages east of Cerro de

* The percentage for Corupo is open to question. Although no actual statistical sampling was done, an impression of a much greater percentage of Tarascan-speaking inhabitants was obtained by the writer when he visited that town in 1946.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 18-b]

191 361 Quinceo, and (5) the islands and adjacent shore settlements of Lake Pátzcuaro (map 11). (See table 1.)

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940* [1]

[Data from official census, 1940]

THE SIERRA

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Locality [1a]	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Charapan:			
Charapan (p)	1,715	1,311	76.4
San Felipe (p)	887	796	89.5
Huancito (r)	20	20	100.0
Rancho Nuevo (r)	24	19	63.0
La Palma (r)	161	0	.0
Municipio of Cherán:			
Cherán (p)	3,288	2,989	87.6
Cocumo (r)	195	81	41.0
Tzipiatiro (r)	34	29	83.7
Municipio of Chilchota:			
Huácato (r)	127	0	0
Los Nogales (r)	306	0	0
Rancho Seco (r)	60	0	0
El Pedregal (r)	118	0	0
Municipio of Erongaricuaro:			
Cauca (r)	26	0	0
Porumbo (h)	49	0	0
La Zarzamora (r)	92	0	0
Zinciro (r)	413	0	0
Municipio of Los Reyes:			
Atapan (p)	1,601	357	22.6
Jesús Díaz (Siris) (p)	696	696	100.0
Pamatácuaro (p)	1,322	1,272	96.2
Siciulcho (p)	819	709	86.5
Zacán (p)	876	430	49.1
Charato (r)	271	261	96.3
La Providencia (r)	95	96	100.0
San Benito (r)	253	253	100.0
San Luis Soreno (r)	64	64	100.0
La Tinaja (r)	154	154	100.0
El Tropezón (r)	84	84	100.0
Uringuitiro (Juatpitiro) (r)	287	287	100.0
Zarzamora (r)	120	120	100.0
Querindaro (r)	60	60	100.0
La Mesa (r)[2]	[2] 120	120	100.0
San Marcos Arachiteria (r)[2]	[2] 80	80	100.0
La Jolla (r)[2]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tapan (r)[2]	[2] 80	80	100.0
Tierras Blancas (r)[2]	[2] 85	85	100.0
Venado (r)[2]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Municipio of Nahuatzen:			
Nahuatzen (p)	3,046	25	.7
Aranicpecua (p)	600	600	100.0
Cumachuán (p)	1,055	1,030	98.3
Sevina (p)	851	375	98.4
Turicuaro (p)	749	749	100.0
La Mojonera (p)	321	0	0
El Padre (r)	94	0	0
El Pino (r)	132	0	0
San Isidro (r)	845	2	.1

[1] This table does not necessarily include statistics for all settlements within a given municipio. The boundaries of many municipios listed, such as Los Reyes and Pátzcuaro, extend beyond the present limits of Tarascan speech; in such cases many purely mestizo towns and ranchos have been omitted. However, all settlements containing Tarascan-speaking inhabitants are listed.

[1a] In this column (c)=ciudad; (v)=villa; (p)=pueblo; (r)=rancho; (rr)=railroad station; (h)=hacienda.

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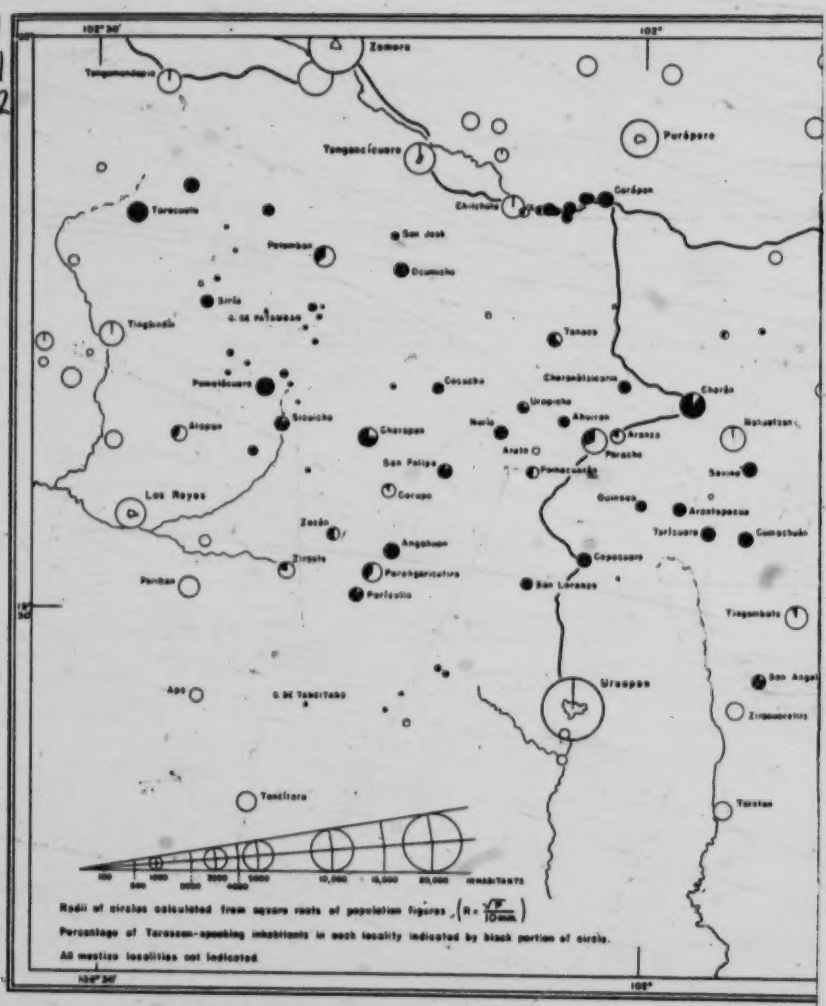
Zamora
Tangancícuaro
Purépero
Tarecuato
Cordón
Chilchota
San José
Ocumicho
Tingambato
Tanaco
Cocucho
Cherán
Uruapan
Aranza
Paracho
Nahuatzen
Aranza
Charapan
Arato
Pomacuarán
Los Reyes
San Felipe
Corupo
Zacán
Angahuan
Tingambato
Parícutin
Uruapan
Tancítaro
Tocuaro
Comachuén
Copuyuaro
Arantepacua
Tarecuato
Tingambato
Tocumbo
Tanaco

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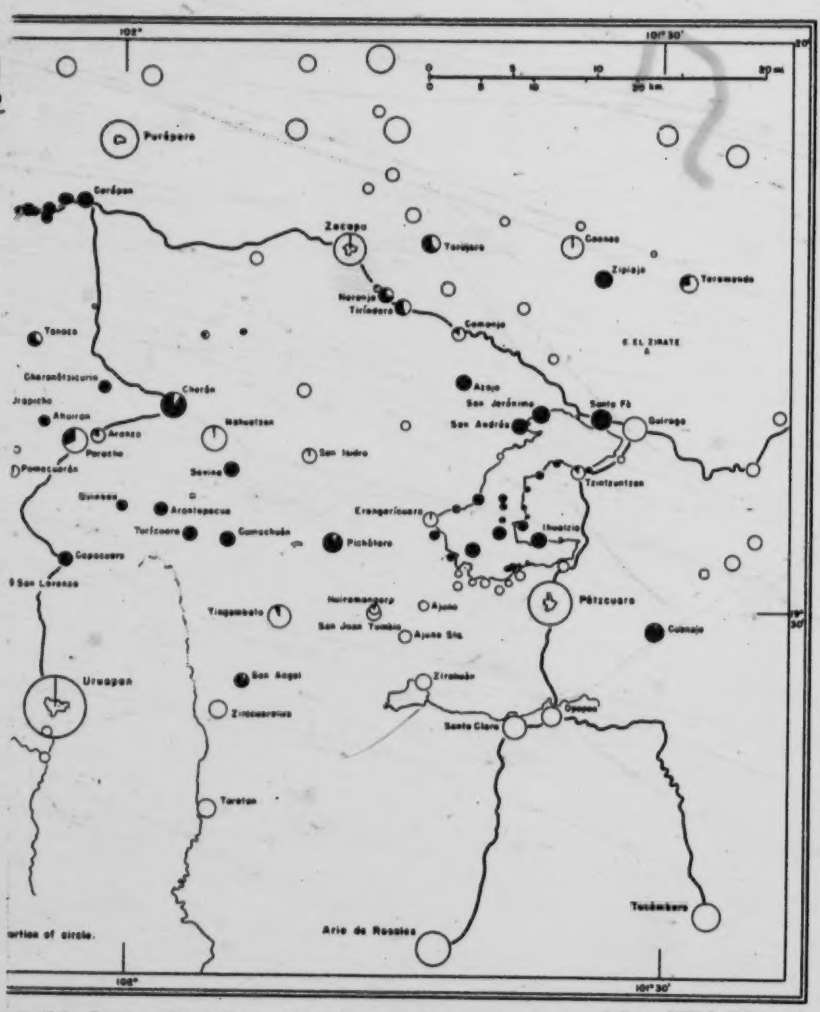

nts, 1940. Based on official 1940 census data. A few small Tarascan ranchos are not indicated. 746000 O - 46 (Face p. 18)

[Facing page 18; section B]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 19-a]

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

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THE SIERRA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Paracho:			
Paracho (v)	3,304	1,005	30.4
Ahuirac (p)	803	803	100.0
Aranza (p)	792	135	17.1
Arato (p)	233	0	0
Ceuche (p)	884	884	100.0
Cheranátzicurin (p)	751	751	100.0
Nurio (p)	810	784	96.7
Pomacuaran (p)	628	288	45.8
Quinceo (p)	482	482	100.0
Tanaco (p)	949	629	66.3
Urapicho (p)	541	422	78.0
Pretpitiro (r)	107	23	21.5
El Tejocote (r)	81	74	91.3
Municipio of Parangaricutiro:			
Parangaricutiro (p)	1,895	726	38.2
Angahuan (p)	1,098	1,098	100.0
Cerupo (p)	813	85	10.4
Paricutin (p)	733	620	84.6
Zirosto (p)	1,314	269	20.5
La Alberca (r)	81	[4](7)	(7)
La Atascada (r)	74	[4](7)	(7)
Barranca Seca (r)	89	4	4.5
Canoa Alta (r)	21	0	0
Las Canoas (r)	113	0	0
La Cantera (r)	59	40	67.8
Las Cocinas (r)	[3]0	0	0
Los Desmontes (r)	23	0	0
El Estudiante (r)	26	8	30.7
Huanondio (r)	80	0	0
Los Lobos (r)	29	0	0
Stipicha (r)	20	0	0
El Tejamanil (r)	84	0	0
El Tepemal (r)	51	44	86.0
El Tepetate (r) [3]	[3]50	22	45.0
Municipio of Pátzcuaro:			
Cuanajo (p)	1,735	1,682	97.0
Huitzmangaro (p)	540	17	3.1
San Juan Tumbio (p)	387	0	0
Ajuno (p)	540	0	0
Ajuno Sta. (rr)	719	0	0
Municipio of Tanciaro:			
Tanciaro (v)	1,858	6	.3
Apo (p)	876	0	0
Municipio of Tangamandapio:			
Tangamandapio (p)	2,573	12	.5
Tarecuato (p)	2,146	2,146	100.0
La Cantera (r)	962	962	100.0
Los Encinillas (r)	78	78	100.0
Los Laureles (r)	8	8	100.0
Umarán (r)	308	0	0
Municipio of Tangancicuaro:			
Ocumicho (p)	1,040	1,013	97.5
Patamban (p)	2,333	809	34.9
San José de Gracia (p)	170	147	86.4
Agua Escondida (r)	22	22	100.0
Arumea (r)	54	21	39.0
Camécuaro (r)	37	2	5.4

[2] Locality not listed in 1940 census. Names obtained from local inhabitants.

[3] Estimated population.

[4] Entirely mestizo according to census, but 100 percent Tarascan according to officials in San Juan Nuevo (Los Conejos) in 1946.

[5] Uninhabited in 1940, but estimated population in 1946 around 35, all Tarascan.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 196]

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

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Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
THE SIERRA—Continued			
Municipio of Tangancicuaro—Continued			
Las Cañas (r)	81	20	30.2
Guarachanillo (r)	22	9	40.9
Rancho Nuevo (r)	38	3	8.0
Las Trojes (r)	14	0	0
El Tanguecho (r)	471	430	95.5
Municipio of Tingambato:			
Pichátaro (p)	1,877	1,740	92.7
Municipio of Tingüindín:			
Tingüindín (v)	2,897	15	.5
Tacátacuaro (p)	1,496	7	.4
Las Trojes (r)	45	0	0
Municipio of Uruapan:			
San Lorenzo (p)	875	875	100.0
Capacuaro (p)	785	775	98.1
Charangueran (r)	130	0	0
Los Conejos (San Juan Nuevo) (p) [6]	(7)	(7)	(7)
THE LAKE AREA			
Municipio of Erongaricuaro:			
Erongaricuaro (p)	1,209	14	1.1
Arócutin (p)	211	211	100.0
Jarácuaro (p)	875	875	100.0
Napízaro (p)	220	214	[7] 89.5
Puácuaro (p)	498	498	100.0
Urícho (p)	461	461	100.0
Ocumtsepo (p)	409	0	0
Técuaro (p)	188	0	0
Lázaro Cárdenas (r)	214	0	0
Oponguio (r)	178	15	8.5
Revolución (r)	10	10	100.0
Municipio of Pátzcuaro:			
Pátzcuaro (c)	9,557	[8] (7)	(7)
Janitzio (p)	771	748	97.0
Ibarra (Pátzcuaro Sta.)	820	13	1.5
Huecorio (p)	409	0	0
Tzentzenguaro (p)	268	0	0
Lázaro Cárdenas (p)	412	0	0
Primo Tapia (p)	369	0	0
San Pedro Pareo (p)	294	0	0
Carián (r)	37	37	100.0
Tecuena (r)	73	73	100.0
Urandén Morales (r)	39	39	100.0
Urandén Morelos (r)	164	164	100.0
San Pedrito (r)	14	14	100.0
Yunuén (r)	118	118	100.0
Yuretzio (r)	170	14	8.2
Municipio of Quiroga:			
Quiroga (v)	3,039	4	.1
San Andrés (p)	1,179	1,165	98.8
San Jerónimo (p)	1,527	1,513	99.1
Santa Fé de la Laguna (p)	2,056	2,056	100.0
Atzimbo (r)	179	0	0
Chupícuaro (r)	31	0	0
Ichúcato (r)	240	0	0
La Tirimicua (r)	88	0	0
Tzirondagatzio (r)	24	0	0

[6] Inhabited 1944. Official census figures not available.

[7] In 1945, according to local inhabitants, Napízaro was only 40 percent Tarascan.

[8] Owing to loss of original census data, the number of Tarascans in Pátzcuaro could not be calculated. The percentage would probably be extremely low.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 20-a]

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

THE LAKE AREA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Tzintzuntzan:			
Tzintzuntzan (c)	1,077	33 (¹ 136)	3.2 (¹ 12.7)
Cucuchucho (p)	296	279	94.5
Ihuatzio (p)	1,206	1,206	100.0
La Pacanda (p)	247	240	97.1
Coenembo (r)	451	0	0
Los Corrales (r)	177	0	0
Las Cuevas (r)	89	0	0
Las Granadas (r)	92	92	100.0
Ichupio (r)	162	162	100.0
Itziparámmou (r)	46	15	36.9
La Noria (r)	33	0	0
El Ojo de Agua (r)	104	104	100.0
Patambicho (r)	261	0	0
Las Pilas (r)	67	0	0
Santa Cruz (r)	178	0	0
Taverio (r)	201	194	96.5
El Tecolote (r)	12	0	0
El Tigre (r)	119	0	0
Uceanástacua (r)	110	110	100.0
La Verdolaga (r)	78	0	0
La Vinata (r)	71	71	100.0
THE NORTHERN PLATEAU REGION			
Municipio of Coeneo:			
Coeneo (v)	3,480	6	.2
Azajo (p)	1,097	1,088	99.2
Comanja (p)	806	91	11.3
Zipiajo (p)	1,311	1,302	99.4
Bellas Fuentes (h)	876	1	.1
Laredo (r)	345	1	.3
Matugeo (r)	484	0	0
Tungultiro (r)	749	2	.2
Municipio of Zacapu:			
Zacapu (v)	6,189	14	.2
Cantabria (p)	1,122	0	0
Naranja (p)	1,082	763	70.5
Tarejero (p)	1,457	891	61.1
Tirindaro (p)	1,282	695	54.8
Buenavista (h)	224	7	3.1
Lázaro Cárdenas (r)	151	2	1.2
San Antonio (r)	909	0	0
Municipio of Morelia:			
Morelia (c)	44,304	32	.07
Teremendo (p)	1,331	279	21.4
Tres Puentes (r)	176	6	3.4
LA CAÑADA			
Municipio of Chilchota:			
Chilchota (p)	2,479	9	.4
Acachuén (p)	717	713	99.3
Carapan (p)	1,289	1,240	96.5
Huáncito (p)	709	709	96.8
Ichán (p)	776	776	100.0
Santo Tomás (p)	285	282	99.0
Tacuro (p)	445	445	100.0
Tanaquillo (p)	439	194	44.9
Urén (p)	330	125	38.6
Zacopo (p)	330	330	100.0

¹ Number and percentage of Tarascans in Tzintzuntzan, 1945, according to ethnographical census. The percentage was calculated on the basis of 1,321 inhabitants in Tzintzuntzan.

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TABLE 1.—*Distribution of Tarascan-speaking folk by localities, 1940*—Continued

LA CAÑADA—Continued

Locality	Total population (number)	Tarascan-speaking folk	
		Number	Percent
Municipio of Chilchota—Continued			
La Cofradía (r)	89	0	0
Tzintzicha (r)	117	48	41.0
Municipio of Tangancícuaro:			
Tangancícuaro (v)	4,782	10	.2
Etúcuaro (p)	871	9	1.0

TIERRA TEMPLADA

Municipio of Ziracuaretiro:			
San Angel Zurumucapio (p)	970	822	84.7
Municipio of Tingambato:			
Tingambato (p)	2,768	204	7.3
Municipio of Uruapan:			
Uruapan (c)	20,383	111	.5
Jucutácato (p)	509	5	1.0
La Rosa de Castilla (r)	60	2	3.3
Toreo Alto (r)	240	3	1.2
Caltzontzin (p)[a]	(?)	(?)	(?)
Municipio of Ario de Rosales:			
Villa Silva (p)[a]	(?)	(?)	(?)

[a] Inhabited 1943. Official census figures not available.

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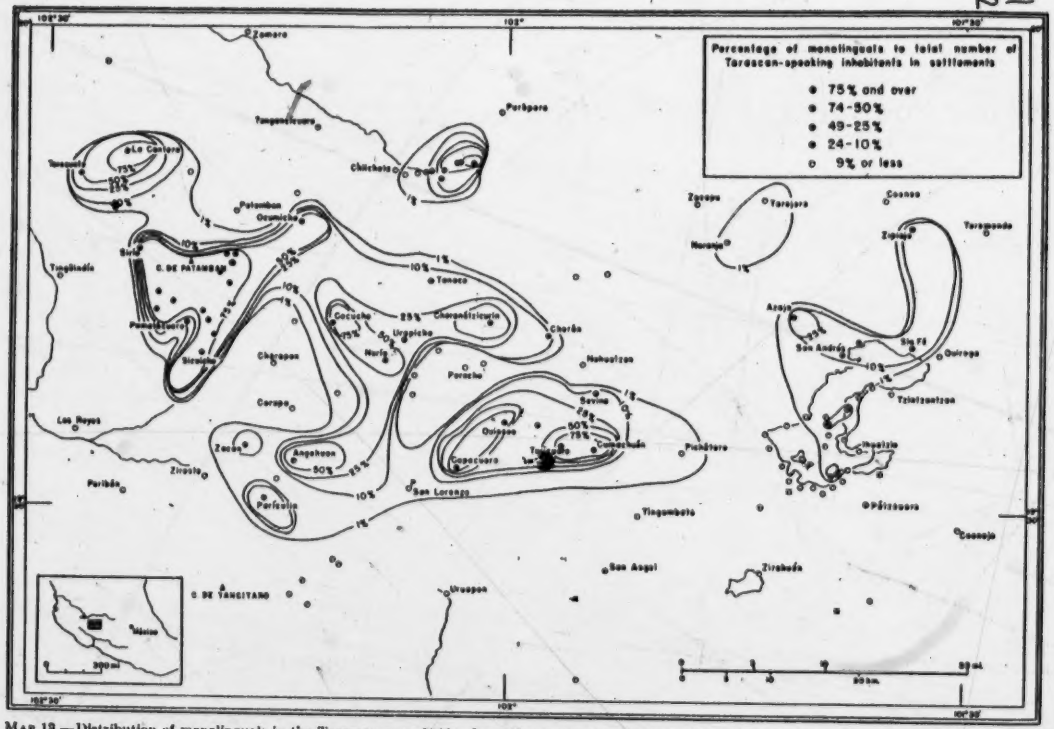
Distribution of monolingual Tarascans.—In spite of continued areal recession of native speech and infiltration of mestizos, monolingualism still exists in many parts of Tarasca. According to calculations from 1940 census data, approximately 38 percent of the Tarascan population is monolingual. Personal field experience, however, would indicate that a smaller proportion (probably 20 percent) speak only Tarascan. The monolinguals are composed principally of conservative women and girls and the older men living in the more isolated pueblos and *ranchos*. Pronounced monolingual centers are scattered through the Tarascan area and correspond to the islets of purely indigenous speech mentioned above (map 13). One center includes the *ranchos* around the Cerro de Patamban and also the majority of women in the pueblos of Pamatácuaro, Sicuicho, and Sirío, nearby. (According to data from the 1940 census, approximately 67 percent of the Tarascan population of this area is monolingual. Following percentages in this paragraph are calculated from the 1940 census.) Another center includes Tarecuato and the adjacent *rancho* of La Cantera (66 percent monolingual). Still another area is situated southwest of Nahuatzen, and consists of the pueblos of Quinceo, Turícuaro,

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 22b—ANALYST]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 [P.21] NU34 Tarasco NU34

191 192



MAP 13.—Distribution of monolinguals in the Tarascan area, 1940. Isopleths represent percentage of monolinguals to total number of Tarascan-speaking inhabitants in the area. Based on official 1940 census data.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 22-b]

191 and Cumachuén (62 percent monolingual). Moreover, the pueblos of La Cañada, adjacent to modern transportation facilities, are surprisingly monolingual (59 percent). Other scattered, ultraconservative towns, such as Angahuan, Cocucho, and Cheranátzicurin in the Sierra, contain a large number of monolinguals.

731 **Effects of Parícutin Volcano.**—The eruption of
166 Parícutin Volcano early in 1943 caused the redistribution of some of the Tarascan population.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23-C]

161 191 **Possible future trends in Tarascan population.**—Judging from the long-range trend in both areal recession and actual numerical decrease in Tarascan-speaking folk, it would appear that the Tarascan language is headed toward extinction. Figure 1 indicates the terrific human toll taken by the European epidemics during the first 50 years of Spanish occupation, and the leveling off of the downward curve [21] until after 1920, when increases are reported by the 1930 and 1940 censuses. In the period 1930–40 the rate of increase in Tarascan population equaled that of the mestizo element. This period of increase is too short to conclude

[21] At the end of the 18th century, decrease in Tarascan population was still outstanding enough to be reported officially to the central government in Mexico City. Commenting on the population increase in the diocese of Michoacán from 1700 to 1792, an official reports: "*Hay al considerable aumento de 58,448 vecinos . . . pero debe advertirse que esta suma las noticias comunicadas por los subdelegados, é informes recividos en el asunto, es de españoles, mulatos, y demas castas, pues en la de los Indios se experimenta mucha decadencia o diminución originada en unos pueblos de la mezcla de estas con distintas calidades; en otros de las grandes y continuas enfermedades, que han padecido; en otros de las pensiones, que cargan insoportables a su felicidad, quando en corto al numero de los obligados a ellos; y en otros finalmente a la escasez de tierras para su precisa subsistencia, sobre lo qual para no confundir el estado antecedente se acompaña uno, que manifiesta los Pueblos, a quienes faltan esos de 800 varas, que por cada viento las asigna la ley . . .*". (AGN Historia, vol. 72, exped. 1 (1792)).

that a new upward trend has been established. On the other hand, there has been a considerable increase in the population of the Sierra and Lake towns since 1750, which probably accounts for the level curve during the 19th century, in spite of drastic areal recession in speech during that period (fig. 2). Today areal recession is still in progress, but actual numbers of Tarascans appear to be increasing. The question is: Can the growth in number of Tarascan-speaking children continue to exceed or equal that of the children (of Tarascan speaking parents) who fail to learn the language or cease to use it in later life? Assuming equal rates of infant mortality and similar health facilities for both groups, it would appear that, owing to cultural changes now in progress within the Tarascan area, the indigenous speech will eventually dis-

[Text continues top of P. 24b—Analyst]

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

The early Spanish adventurers and friars found Tarascans living (like many sedentary Indians of the New World) in agglomerated settlements, the larger of which the Spaniards called pueblos, the smaller, *rancherías* or *estancias*. The pueblo and the *ranchería* (*rancho*) have remained the basic units of settlement in the Tarascan area, as in most parts of Mexico.[33] In size present Tarascan pueblos range from 200 to 3,400 inhabitants; the ranchos, from 9 to 900. Invariably the modern indigenous ranchos are offspring settlements from a pueblo nearby. For instance, the 11 ranchos on the southern and eastern slopes of Cerro de Patamban were formed by families, which for political or economic (land) reasons, left the mother pueblo, Pamatácuaro. Sirío, a former *rancho* of Pamatácuaro, was made a pueblo and *tenencia* ca. 1926, its name being changed to Jesús Díaz. By such a process agglomerated settlements begin and develop. Moreover, the *ranchos* on the Tarí-uk'éri Peninsula, Lake Pátzcuaro, were founded 50 or 60 years ago by fisher-

[Text continues bottom P. 24b—Analyst]

[33] Although in general these two types of settlement are differentiated by size, the terms "pueblo" and "rancho" have acquired political connotations. From the point of view of State and Federal Governments the basic political unit in Mexico is the municipio, which may contain many pueblos and ranchos. Usually the largest pueblo within this political unit is named the *cabecera*, or chief administrative town. The affairs of the *cabecera* and those of the municipio as a whole are administered by a *presidente* or mayor. The remaining pueblos in the municipio are regarded as *tenencias*, each headed by a *jefe*. The ranchos are dependencies of certain pueblos, local authority being vested in the *diputado de orden*. Upon obtaining sufficient size, prestige, or political influence, a pueblo may be elevated to the rank of *villa* or even *ciudad*. Because of historical prestige small (1,677 mestizo inhabitants) Tzintzuntzan holds the title of *ciudad*. Such rank, however, in no way changes the political function of the town.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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appear. Such cultural changes—improved transportation, more frequent contact with modern life, increased educational facilities both within the pueblos and in the large towns outside, the Government alphabetization program—all aid to increase the use of Spanish and to decrease the use of Tarascan. Such factors influence especially the younger generation. Today the young people (5 to 20 years old) of many pueblos have not learned Tarascan, and often those who know the language speak Spanish by preference. Moreover, as indicated above, mestizo merchants are still moving into the Tarascan market towns and in such centers intermarriage of Indian and mestizo continues; the offspring of such unions rarely learn the indigenous tongue.

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

men from adjacent islands of Janitzio and Lo Pacanda. On the other hand, the mestizo *ranchos* now found in the Sierra are the product of migration of farmers and political refugees from the outside. One of these, Arato, was established soon after the struggle for independence in 1810, and in the 1930's was given the title of pueblo with *tenencia* status.

Other types of settlement in modern Tarasca include the lumber camp (*aserradero*), an ephemeral agglomeration of workmen's huts around the sawmill. Such settlements disappear after surrounding exploitable timber has been depleted. In 1946 there were but three lumber camps in the entire Sierra. In addition, a minor form of dispersed settlement is sometimes found in the Sierra; occasionally a woodcutter and his family live permanently in an isolated house on a forested mountain slope and visit the nearest pueblo only to market products, buy supplies, and attend fiestas.

Settlement sites.—The few available early descriptions of the Tarascan area indicate the existence of many more Indian settlements during the 16th century than at present.[33] This was particularly true in the Sierra, where small agglomerations (*estancias* or *rancherías*) were numerous. Such settlements were scattered on

[33] The early sources which mention former settlements in the Tarascan area include the available Relaciones Geográficas, 1579-81 (Mss. Nac., leg. 102); various late 16th-century documents concerning labor and associated problems in Zavala and Castello (1939-46); many documents concerning the congregations of 1596-1606 found in AGN Congregaciones and Tierras.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Canaquas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their performance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

*Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Folklore Society on March 24, 1950, in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

increase in reported Indian parents by the older group may also reflect awareness of the social changes which have been occurring over the decades, and the heavy incidence of Indian parents reported may merely be a reflection of the fact that "things were not always thus." One elderly man, commenting on the changes which he had seen in Paracho since his youth, said, "In that time the people spoke only Tarascan, and the race was *naturalito*, all *Indios* here. Since the burning of the town (in 1917 during the 1910-1920 Revolution) the people speak only Castilian."

TABLE 2

AGE OF RESPONDENT AND REPORTED RACE OF PARENTS

Age of Informant	Fathers		Mothers	
	Indian	Mestizo	Indian	Mestiza
Under 20	5	5	6	4
21-30	20	18	18	20
31-40	28	32	33	27
41-50	36	18	37	17
51-60	30	10	34	6
61 and over	22	4	20	6
Total	141	87	148	80

These explanations are admittedly not biological. Indeed, it can be demonstrated empirically that to the extent to which the question aroused any interest at all, the residents of Paracho are not concerned with genetic (racial) explanations. Of thirty-seven explanations as to why their parents are considered to be Indian the following reasons were given: the parents were "from here in Paracho" in thirteen instances; they were "born in Paracho" in nine instances; they were said to have been born "in an Indian place" in nine instances; they were described as descended (in the male line) from those who had come to Paracho from Paracho Viejo in the 16th century in five instances. The eight other reasons included the following: "Because in 1901 the people were more *Natural* and today they are more civilized"; "parent is *Indigena*, but on the basis of color is with the French or the Spanish"; "All of us are pure people, Indians — we are of this population"; "In that time there were no mixtures"; "More Indian than *de razon*, like it still is, *Natural*, no?" and finally, "Indian, the same as the rest of us."

From the twenty-one explanations concerning Mestizo parents the following tabulation results. In seven instances the parent concerned was said to have been born elsewhere. In four instances the parents are described as Mestizo because they do not, or did not, speak Tarascan. In two cases the parents were "more white." In two responses they were "like ourselves" (*i.e.*, the speakers). And in one instance the parents were considered to be Mestizo because they were born in Paracho. Of the miscellaneous reasons the following are illustrative: ". . . my father is a little Spanish, the Indians don't have a beard." "They were *de razon*, but from the *ranchos*." One man said he did not know how to answer as his parents

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spoke both Tarascan and Spanish; his wife told him that his father was *de razon* and he said, "Well, my mother was this also." The other 198 individuals in the sample did not consider that any elaboration other than the answer to the question was necessary — another indication of the relative unimportance of the distinction in the town.

Through all of these explanations it can be seen that place of birth is apparently primary in determining the ethnic group with which one will later (if ever) be identified, with the ability to speak the Tarascan language second in importance. There is evidence that Tarascan as the idiom of the community was no longer in favor even several generations ago. Not only is the use of Tarascan in Paracho limited today to members of the oldest generation, but several people showed their dislike for the language and implied that their parents did not teach it to them, or did so only inadequately. Children today are not learning Tarascan, and this tie with Indian culture is rapidly disappearing.

The place of birth of the parents may be correlated with ethnic origin to determine to what extent the ethnic composition of the community depends on birthplace. The data indicate that either more Mestizos are coming into Paracho from the outside, or that more of the people who have come to Paracho from elsewhere are considered to be Mestizos. In most instances the places whence the parents had emigrated were small Sierra Tarascan villages and towns, considered by Parachoans to be "Indian places." In moving to the larger center these individuals had identified themselves (or had been identified by their children) with the more urban, Mestizo, way of life. Among parents born outside Paracho 54.5 per cent of mothers are classed as Mestiza and 58.0 per cent of fathers are reported as Mestizo.

TABLE 3

"RACE" OF FATHER AND MOTHER ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH [6]

Reported as:	Father born		Mother born	
	Paracho	*elsewhere*	*Paracho*	*elsewhere*
Indian	120	26	143	25
Mestizo	53	36	49	30
Total	173	62	192	55
	χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 14.54		χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 16.33	
	$P < 0.0002$		$P < 0.0001$	

Although a majority of parents born elsewhere are described as Mestizo, others are called Indian. The stereotype of the Indian (not native to Paracho) held by the local citizenry is similar to that reported by other investigators in Mexico.[7] The Indians in near-by communities have the

[6] Parents born in forty-six communities other than Paracho are represented in the total sample.

[7] George Foster, *Empire's Children, The People of Tzintzuntzan*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 6 (Washington, 1948), p. 33.
Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 53-54.
Robert Redfield, *Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 75.